177 confuse in their pronunciation the words tuan ("master, lord") and Tuhan ("God").[67]

2. Settlement Patterns

000 The Sibu District is marked by an absence of ethnic wards. While the Malay population tends to be clustered along what formerly was Sungai Sibu and presently is Kampong Nyabor Road and extends down the bank of the Igan to Kampong Hilir, there are no regulations compelling them to live in that area and they are as free as their funds permit and hearts desire to move elsewhere. In fact, a number of Malay families live outside the kampong, some who are employed by Government or companies in 177 furnished quarters. Within the kampong are to be found non-Malays: 369 Ibans, Chinese, and even an occasional orang putih.

The Chinese population has been located predominantly within one or two miles of the banks of the main rivers, the Rejang, Igan and Leba'an. Notable exceptions are those shopkeepers who moved into areas near longhouse communities, with whom they traded. The opening of the Oya Road and its branches has permitted a number of Chinese to move to land adjacent the roadways, some being purchased individually and other occupied under Government Scheme, as at Sibintek.

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829 [67] On one occasion while travelling with the late Pengulu Giman, he introduced the writer as petara ("god"), going on to explain that how else could you refer to people who had done so much technologically and 178 were so wealthy (sic). Members of the younger generation are not so free in acts of deification.

000 The main part of the urban Chinese population is located in the pasar proper, living over the shophouses where they conduct their businesses, or occupying apartments built along the main roads and their tributaries. Within these predominantly Chinese areas, it is common for Ibans to rent rooms and live side-by-side with Chinese neighbors or, as we have noted, for Iban transients to put with their Chinese patrons.

369 The rise in incidence of terrorist activities in the past two years has prompted some Ibans and Chinese alike to abandon their homes in rural areas and move into Sibu. The number of Chinese moving between rural and urban areas varies according to the security conditions.[68] Ibans show a greater reticence to return once they have left their homes, as the members of the longhouse of Sungai Jih, Kanowit District, who have left their homes and crops to take residence in the Sungai Antu Industrial Estate.

000 The European and American communities have lived in quarters furnished by their employers: Government, church, company and Peace Corps. There has been no cloistering of orang putih in a single area, though some companies have built more secluded compounds than other organizations. There is, however, no settlement pattern approximating

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[68] In a two-day period at Chinese New Year, 1972, five persons were killed in the Third Division, three of them within four miles of the pasar.

000 If we may speak of a mercantile mentality, this quite literally is the ethos of the business community of Sibu. A majority of ties within individual networks, both formal and informal, are based upon expectations of trade and exchange, profit and gain. Philanthropic activities and the patronage of various sporting events draws attention to the sponsors - as well as to the trades they represent.

177 439 441 Although Ibans and other indigenes have shared in Sibu's growth in ways already described, viz. through supplying jungle products, rubber, pepper, and labor, few of them have owned shophouses and run businesses in the pasar. Notable exceptions include Messrs. Unchat anak Chok and Jonathan Bangau, each of whom inherited a shophouse from his father.[40] Both men have appreciated a considerable and steady income from the rental of their shops. "Pasar Bangau" has been a point of reference among Ibans in giving directions in Sibu. Bangau also is involved in several business enterprises, including serving as chairman of the Glass Sand Company, Limited, which supplies sand for a Japanese firm, and has an authorized capital of one million Malaysian dollars.

441 177 183 369 Of more immediate affect upon the Iban community has been the dissemination of those values concomitant with the mercantile mentality

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[40] Chok, the late father of Unchat, was a close friend of the father of Mr. Wong Soon Kai, a distinguished Sibu surgeon, and was advised in his investments by the elder Wong. It is significant that the fathers of Unchat and Bangau were among those Iban who refused to cut their rubber trees when the conflict between traditional rice cultivation and the new rubber planting gave rise to the story of rubber eating rice (cf. page 27).

of the business community of Sibu. Acceptance of the values of cash-income, profits and saving has motivated hundreds of Ibans to forsake home and farm for town and salary. Although many are wage-earners, few indeed have been able to penetrate the tightly woven fabric of the Foochow-dominated business world, and it appears doubtful that many will for some time to come. The only apparent break-through has been in retailing fruit, vegetables and, occasionally, poultry in the Iban market or in some other unoccupied public space, appreciating by the direct sale a much better return than by selling their goods to a Chinese middle-man.[41]

In the rural area, scores of Iban traders have emerged in the past two decades, running shophouses near their longhouse communities. In some instances, these are new businesses where none previously has existed. In other cases, business which formerly was handled by a Chinese trader has been taken over by Iban shopkeepers. For example, in 1971, a Chinese shopkeeper in the Ulu Salim Kiba area was forced to close his business when he could not collect outstanding debts. Upon his closing, all of his business fell to two Iban shopkeepers at Rumah Imba and Rumah Nyelang.

D. Services, Education, Recruitment and Recreation

The growth of Sibu as an administrative center and an entrepot was accompanied by the development of a number of other functions which

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[41] Middlemen and hawkers commonly pay Chinese gardeners and Ibans about one-half of the retail price for vegetables and fruit.

891 employed or are spouses of wage-earners. The results and employment
464 opportunities for students in unaided schools have tended to be generally more disappointing both to the youngsters and to their parents. At the same time, none of the 143 respondents has returned to take up residence in his longhouse, whereas a majority of the latter group has had to for lack of employment. With the increase of students, however, many with a Division II Pass in the Sarawak Junior, who formerly would have been able to obtain employment, no longer are able to do so.[46]

891 The effects of education on Iban have been varied but far-reaching.
177 Education has helped to re-inforce the changing value system from "the
● 369 good life of padiculture" to the fast buck by offering a means to its attainment. The location of all secondary schools initially in urban centers meant a radical disorientation of young people to their culture and disengagement from their society, so that they have been either unable or refused to re-enter the longhouse community. In an analysis of the effects of education on Iban society, an officer of the Education Department wrote that,

> "the basic weakness of Iban education is that it is regarded by parents, children, teachers and all concerned, not as preparation for life in an Iban community, but as a means of escaping it. . . The educated are lost forever to their longhouses. . .

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[46] For a discussion of problems of school-leavers and unemployment see Schaeffer's paper in Appendix A.

this chapter the pattern which was established by the second decade of this century of unemployed persons coming into the pasar to seek work. The number of Ibans who came in during the first half-century was relatively small because there were few opportunities open to them. With the development of Sibu during the past twenty-five years, however, and the proliferation of schools near longhouse communities, more and more Ibans are seeking employment in or through the pasar.

According to the 1960 Census, 96 per cent of all economically active Iban males and 99 per cent of all economically active females were engaged in rice cultivation. Table 14 presents the other categories in which Ibans were working at that time. Regrettably, data are not yet available from the 1970 Census to indicate shifts in employment categories, but upon the basis of a survey conducted in connection with this study and upon the author's impression, it is most likely that the number and percentage of persons employed in non-agricultural categories has increased significantly.

The Iban population of Sibu fluctuates considerably as members of the society move in and out of the pasar. This makes the task of ascertaining the number of Ibans who may be termed permanent residents of the urban area difficult if not impossible, by admission of an official of the Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur, and of the Urban District Council. However, the importance of Sibu as a recruitment center has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196]

prompted a considerable number of Ibans to seek employment in the pasar, so that while the Iban population in the urban area was 693 persons in 1960, it is my estimate that presently the number is about four or five times that figure, or approximately 3,000.

On the basis of a survey conducted in 1970, of 200 Iban residents in the urban area, 171 were employed and the other 29 were housewives. The 171 persons were employed in some 35 different categories, as indicated in Table 15. Thus, another important function in the development of Sibu as an urban center has been the recruitment of men and women for work either in Sibu or other areas.

One final note must be made about the young Iban women who are listed under the categories of waitresses, bar-girls and "self-employed females." A number of these women engage in what may be described as moonlighting activities because of the attractive rewards. Some of the women are recruited by agents (beroka) from Sibu, others are encouraged by women already in the pasar, while still others are enlisted by male companions. Given the casual attitude of many Ibans towards sex and the position of relative equality which women enjoy in the society, together with the less economically rewarding activities in the longhouse, it is not surprising that several score young Iban women, as well as some members of other ethnic groups, have taken up residence in the urban area.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

5. Recreation

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"Why did I move to Sibu?" answered the young man. "It's more exciting (rami agi'), there are more people, you can meet your friends and do more here than in the longhouse."

From the beginning of this century, Sibu has held an attraction for the Ibans as a recreation center, where games were held "much to the appreciation of the Natives" (SG No. 410, 1900:53). The invitation of Ibans to sporting activities on Boxing Day and New Year's met with a great response, so that a later writer described the numbers who came as "a Dayak invasion" (cf. Appendix A).

A highlight for both rural and urban residents was the regatta held every year or so, which permitted hordes of Ibans and other indigenes to participate in boat races while enjoying the food, drinks, lights and crowds of the pasar. The termination of the regattas has by no means deterred rural visitors from enjoying the other pleasures which Sibu has to offer.

The pasar boasts five movie theaters all of which do a good business, owing to the lack of other forms of entertainment for many people. The movies shown are an important means of disseminating new ideas and values. By far, the most popular movies to the Ibans are the Hindustani films, followed by war-stories and action cowboy stories.

The mere pleasure of meeting friends and having a drink or a meal in a coffee shop is probably the attraction that draws most Ibans

369 177 who come to Sibu "just to visit themselves" (nigi' ka' ngalu diri'). From early morning until closing time, the coffee shops along Channel Road in particular but in other areas as well, do a brisk trade with an Iban clientele.

[657] All forms of gambling, from the Social Welfare Department's backed numbers game of Toto to a small game of cards, are popular among Ibans as well as others. Cockfighting probably attracts more Iban and Chinese men than does any other single form of gambling. Men stake their roosters out on traffic islands, carry them under their arms as they bicycle through town, preen their feathers, and sneak in an illegal cockfight (nyabong churi) whenever they think the heads of the police are turned the other way. On Sundays and holidays, cockfights are arranged by the purchase of a license from the District Office[48] at the Tenth Mile Oya Road, Durin Pasar, or at Oya, with men attending from as far away as Miri and Kuching.

Although by the judgment of many persons, Sibu is limited in recreational activities, still it holds a high attraction for Ibans of this District and beyond who are looking for diversion and play.

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[622] [48] In an interesting case of economic cooperation, Iban tuai rumah in the areas where cockfights are held purchase the license in turn, one tuai rumah one week, another the next, and so on until all have had a turn. The license holder and his helpers receive a part of the gate and all bets placed on the day of the fights for which he holds the license.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

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In summary, the growth and development of Sibu as an urban center for administration, trade, education, recruitment and recreation has profoundly affected not only the lives of the predominantly Chinese immigrant population but also those of the Ibans as well. Paying taxes, competing in business, seeking positions for their children in school, looking for work and coming to the pasar for a good time, the Ibans have through accommodation and acculturation experianced important changes in their social organization and culture as we shall discuss in Part II.

infants of disease that formerly would have proved fatal, such as gastro-enteritis, diphtheria, as well as other alimentary and respiratory illnesses. Figures on the relative incidence of infant mortality rates are unavailable, but it may be noted that in the three houses surveyed the number of childless couples totalled only seven.

A second answer to the question is that there is less dependence felt by parents on their children. That is, as the orientation to a cash economy and achievement of regular income through employment takes place, there is less need felt for placing the parents' security in their old age on a child who may or may not be faithful to his adopted parents. The Employees Provident Fund or a private savings account is more dependable.

Although these rationalizations of the situation do not wholly suffice as explanations, and adoptions still occur in childless families as well as those with children, for the love and enjoyment children may offer, yet they are significant as perceptions of Ibans as to what appears as a change in the practice of adoption, viz., the incidence of adoption decreases closer to the urban center. More data are required, however, to substantiate or refute this hypothesis.

Adoption provides a second way to membership in the bilik-family. Adoption establishes the full rights of the new member to share in the property, to farm the land, to collect the fruit, and to all other privileges of the family.

frequent topics of women's meetings in the urban area is, "How can I make my child obey me?" A number of parents have lamented over the effects of education on their children, saying that because the youngsters had reached From Three or Form Five, they refused to help any longer with simple chores, such as feeding livestock or getting firewood. In the Sibu pasar, parents fret over children's activities, over which they have virtually no control.

That the tensions and strains between members of adjacent generations is not a new phenomenon is apparent from the numerous expressions in Iban oral literature - folk stories, myths and proverbs - through which are projected these intergenerational conflicts.[3] Nor are these hostilities one-sided, for children resent even the mild restraints offered by parents, and the conflict of interests between parents and adult children is one of the principal causes of bilik partition.

Hundreds of young people have come to Sibu because of disparate values with their parents, to seek cash-employment, and just because Sibu is a more exciting place than the longhouse community. It is true that the education system, particularly at higher levels, has a disorienting

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[3] The myth, "Kumang Betelu'" (Kumang Lays Eggs) has a number of latent Oedipal connotations. The man-god Keling notices his wife, Kumang, surreptitiously going into a rice-bin to lay eggs. Angered and embarrassed over such an abnormal mode of conception, he takes his spear and pierces each of the seven eggs Kumang has laid. Instead of killing the children - all boys - he merely blinds them and, after their birth, takes them into the jungle to lose them. They are given medicine by an antu, subsequently kill an Antu Gerasi Papa (father-figure) and after many perilous journeys, are reunited to and reconciled with their parents.

effect upon Iban young people, so that they disdain life in the longhouse and, if at all possible, take up urban domicile.[4] "Just so they have cash in the pocket," complained one irate parent, "they don't want to leave the pasar." One young man said in his defense.

> "Our parents don't understand that for us there is no future in the longhouse. You can't get anywhere farming, and there are too many demands upon you to allow you to accumulate anything. The whole longhouse system is cut through with local jealousies."

Members of the senior generation criticize young people who, to them, aimlessly wander the pasar in search of work.

> "They form gangs, Api' Bayat, and work as con men. Young men work as pimps (beroka) and young girls as prostitutes."

Several older adult residents of Sibu pasar used the expression of the young people who have come to the town, Sida' idup di puchok tunggul ("They live at the end of the stump").

In analyzing the relationships and behavior of parents and children, these must be seen in the perspective of the larger society which long has valued the independence of the individual and his achievements. Of necessity brought about by the absence of parents during the day-time, children learn to fend for themselves and their siblings at an early age.

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[4] A senior government official observed that while development policies encourage the return of young people to rural areas, there are few incentives to attract them in the longhouse community.

593 her husband, she lived with Ganai, her brother (Bilik No. 5, Rumah Nyala), until she remarried. Pengarah Chundi anak Rasa entirely supported his brother, Kudi, who was an invalid, until the latter's death.

593 369 166 The strong ties between siblings provide one of the principal means for in-migrants to the pasar to make the transition from rural to urban life. When an Iban establishes residence in the pasar, he is in a convenient position, where his kinsmen are concerned, to serve as housekeeper and, in some cases, employment bureau. The increased affluence, improved transportation, and the magnetism of the pasar have drawn hundreds of Ibans to Sibu. And, whereas previously they stayed with Chinese patrons or Malay partners, as soon as a kinsmen rents a room in the pasar, he is sought out for hospitality. Also, he is expected to keep his eyes open and his ears fast to the grapevine for any job-openings that may come up, and immediately inform his brothers and sisters.

797 829 593 One very ambitious and enterprising Iban man has made it to the United States where he now is studying. The basis upon which he achieved this feat was by appeal to the fictional fraternity of Christian brotherhood. The entrance of thousands of Ibans into the church has been in part due to their interpretation of the ecclesiastical community into familial terms. Thus, priests and religious workers are apai or nadi' ("father" or "brother"), depending on the relative age of the persons involved. And the church, like the Iban family, is expected to help support and fulfil the other functions common to those who stand in sibling relations.[6]

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[6] During a recent service in the Sibu Iban Methodist Church, of 43 worshippers, only three were not employees or relatives of employees of the church.

The introduction of the Padi Planting Scheme by the Agriculture Department has permitted approximately sixty per cent of the Ibans to farm near their longhouses. In several cases where the farms were deemed too far away, the families concerned moved closer to their farms and built a new longhouse as, for instance, in the case of Rumah Nyelang of Ulu Salim.

The longhouse communities of the District are related to the pasar in a variety of ways, as already discussed. These relations are expressed in the increasing frequency of travel between longhouses and the pasar, and the demand of Ibans for ways and means of travel. Whereas prior to the mid-1960's travel was either by water or by bicycle-paths, the construction of the Oya-Durin Road system through the District has effected changes in the means of travel and in the orientation of rural residents. Bus service is available to the Oya and Durin Roads and for those who are willing and able to pay, taxis-licensed and private[2] -travel wherever and whenever they are paid. High-powered motor launches, sometimes misnamed "expresses," ply between Sibu and rural areas, navigating the Rajang, Igan and Laba'an Rivers.

Extension of the road system and the urban connections offered thereby has produced several interesting examples of value change and resettlement by Ibans. When surveyors began laying out the lines for the new road through Ulu Naman, the people of Rumah Buda forcibly blocked the

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[2] Read, "pirate."

621 contemporary society. To others, and still the majority of Ibans, the
342 longhouse system is the jalai pengidup ("way of life") that is most mean-
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183 ingful culturally. The longhouse still is an important center for social events and many persons stated their preference for the crowd and sounds of the longhouse rather than for the loneliness and silence of a separate house.
[796] Further, the longhouse is a ceremonial center for the various gawai, to
[496] which even the newly emerging urban elite, among them some college graduates, return and take part. The mutual aid provided for the events of moment in the life-cycle of the individual has been adduced as another reason for the continuing popularity of the longhouse. And finally, the longhouse continues to provide an aura of security, in reality little, during the present period of terrorist activities.

Thus, the number of people who have left the longhouse community and built individual dwellings in rural areas is still relatively small and dependent upon those factors discussed as well as idio-syncratic reasons.

H. Urban Residence

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177 The movement of an estimated 3,000 Ibans into the Sibu Urban area has resulted in their dispersion throughout the town and in several patterns
361 of residence. These patterns of residence are related to a number of factors,
[162] including the presence or absence of kinsmen, length of time and purpose for coming to the town, position and income and whether quarters are furnished by the employer.

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57 Exploitation of relations and the assurance of acceptance have obvious implications for urbanizing Ibans, whether they are making visits to kinsmen for a few days or whether they are taking up residence on a permanent basis. In-migrants include both individuals and families, and a majority of these have relatives or friends with whom they put up. In interviews with Iban residents in the town, it quickly became apparent that the individual or family living in town who does not have out-of-town visitors staying with them for several days out of each week is the exception, and many have a continuous run of house guests: kinsmen, friends, and casual acquaintances needing lodging.

In our survey of 200 Iban residents of the pasar, only 13 indicated that they were not helped with temporary lodging from a friend, kinsmen, ndong or towkay upon their movement into Sibu (Table 34). Forty-seven of those who lived with friends described their hosts as former school-mates, about one-half of whom had been instrumental in helping them obtain work. Seven of those who said that they lived with friends stayed temporarily with officials of their political party. By far, most Ibans received help from members of their own ethnic group.

TABLE 34

Groups Giving Aid to In-migrants

[512]
[60]
[177]

Iban					
Kinsmen	Friends	Malay	Chinese	Others	None
49	117	7	11	3	13

• 369 In several visits to the now-razed Rumah Temuai ("Guest House"), I discovered that only those Iban who knew no single persons in Sibu stayed there. Some were there to visit sick relatives in the hospital, others were working temporarily or more permanently and saving money by living in the 369 Rumah Temuai. But as soon as they could find other lodging that their 574 resources permitted them to rent, or made acquaintances with whom they could "take shelter" (numpang), they moved out to take up other accommodations and from then on, were open to demands for hospitality from kinsmen and friends.

369 A vast majority of Iban residents in the Sibu Urban area live either 362 in rented quarters or in housing furnished by the employer. Seventy-three 427 of the Iban employees in our sample listed in Table 15 (page 197) live in [466] quarters provided by their employer. Forty-seven of these employees are renting rooms, and 22 indicated that they are living with friends or kins- [423] men in one of these two groups. It is significant that only nine of the 171 economically active Ibans in Sibu own their own homes, and all of these nine have been long-time residents of the town, and generally they are more affluent than those living in rented quarters or those furnished by the employer.

361 There is no "Iban Ward" of Sibu Urban area, the Iban population 369 being scattered from Sungai Antu to Upper Lanang Road. The heaviest concentrations tend to be at the Lanang Road Field Force Camp, where an average 1,000 members, mostly Iban, live with their families; at Sungai Antu

361 Industrial Area, where until recently families of the Malaysian Rangers
369 lived, and where several hundred Ibans still live; and in apartments along Mission Road, Tong Sang Road and the other tributaries of Lanang Road.
[871] More than 150 Ibans enrolled in urban schools are living in school hostels or renting rooms in the pasar.

In summary, the longhouse system continues to be the predominant
361 342 178 type of settlement pattern among the Ibans of this district. For want of accurate statistics, it is impossible to determine exactly how many Ibans have left the longhouse in order to construct individual houses, but an educated estimate permits us to place the figure at between two- and three-
[369] hundred families. Of the estimated 3,000 Iban residents in the urban area, most are newcomers and live either in quarters furnished for them or in rented rooms. These residents are fairly evenly scattered throughout the urban area, with concentrations of Ibans near places of employment, schools and apartment houses.

175 Sarawak in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Iban population increase occurred in part by natural increase and in part through the assimilation of captured members of other ethnic groups. The Melanaus, Rajangs and other former occupants of the Rejang valley were driven out, so that today, the Iban occupy what are to them the more desirable territories, and have greater access to towns and markets.

198 441 Within the past ten years, Iban traders have begun to insinuate themselves into spheres of business which previously had been the domain of the Chinese and, to a much lesser extent, the Malays. Whereas two years ago the Iban market was a joking matter among Chinese hawkers, today it is 162 the scene of a great volume of trade. And while the Iban population of [369] Sibu still tends to be a floating one, with individuals coming in to transact business in Government offices, to sell produce, or for treatment at the hospital, the number of Ibans taking up permanent residence is rapidly increasing. In the words of one man who returned to Sibu after two-years' absence,

> "Man, this isn't a Chinese town any longer. It's half Iban!"

666 177 In politics, Iban leaders such as Tan Sri Temenggong Jugah, Thomas Kana, Sidi Muman and Stephen Kalong Ningkan have been prominent in the formation and development of the more indigenous-dominated parties. Unfortunately, in more than a single instance, the strength of individual leaders, the conflict of "big-man" competition, and the lack of a tradition of unity built upon superordinate-subordinate relationships, has proved the undoing of group interests.

000 undoing of group interests.

128 In this chapter we shall analyze certain aspects of Iban culture, as a system of practices, values and beliefs, which is shared among [369] [184] members of the society. There are some aspects of Iban culture which are shared by majority of the members, but there are dissimilarities as well in some norms, ideals and goals of the Ibans who have moved into the pasar [177] and those who have remained in their rural communities. Iban culture has been affected through the contact of its practitioners with the cultures of other groups and through the mediating influences of the urban center. The analysis in this chapter aims to indicate those areas in which Iban culture is being affected most, and those aspects that are most resistant to other influences.

A. Self-Sufficiency

866 183 In Chapter Five, we described the importance of independence and the early training and orientation which Iban children receive in enculturation of this value. Independence-training, however, is but a single facet of a larger value which we may term self-sufficiency that includes a number of other ideals.

867 Through the process of enculturation, the Iban introjects the demands of his elders and peers that he be adequate to all of the demands of his roles as farmer, adventurer and community member. By word and example, boys and young men are taught the skills and courage required of them to be fully productive and participating members of society. Similarly, girls

because of two reasons. First, the Brookes were afraid that the Iban would lose their traditional culture. Secondly, they were afraid that educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans, i.e., unwilling to accept without question the paternalistic Brooke administration which was weighted heavily against their advance through its stereotyping of their culture, as well as being heavily pro-Malay.

The cession of Sarawak to the British Government in 1946 resulted in a more open and equitable arrangement for the Ibans. They were permitted access to higher education, and a large number of Local Authority Schools were built. Whereas previously only a small handful of Ibans lived in Sibu prior to the cession, by 1947 their number was 259 and by 1960, almost 700.

Thus, education and wage-earning offered viable alternatives to the traditional value of self-sufficiency and status according to rice production. Education, at first even at a Primary 4 or 6 level, later at higher standards, permitted the student to find employment in a number of jobs, ranging from primary school teachers to clerks in Government and companies, and even to attain to senior government positions.

> "To become a government employee. . .has meant many things: social status (and the titles and uniforms to match), economic security, a comfortable life with relatively modern conveniences, and, essentially, identification with a Western (rather than a native) style of life."

The initial skepticism of many Iban parents about education was overcome by reports of the employment opportunities available to students.

jackets, and girls with mini-skirts. I was surprised while in a barber's shop to spy in a mirror two young Iban males having their hair set in permanent waves (Iban, dikaran from "current"). Whereas a generation ago young men had their ears pierced, scores of men have had operations in hospitals in Kapit and Sibu to have the distended lobes removed. During the late 1950's, a popular style among many Ibans was to have the front teeth capped with gold as a display of wealth. Some went farther and had stones in the shapes of hearts and crosses set in the gold caps. This fad has given way in the past decade to glistening porcelain dentures.

The relative endurance of a style among the highly impressionable Iban young people and even some of their adults appears to be related to its acceptance among members of other ethnic groups. What may be acceptable in the rural longhouse may be open to ridicule in the pasar, where Ibans associate with other groups to whose opinions and criticisms they are most sensitive. For example, some men may wear the traditional loincloth (sirat) in the longhouse and while working in the rural area, but would not think of wearing it to town where only those from remote areas, unlearned in the ways of the pasar, would do so. Men continue to have their hair waved or let it grow long, wear flaired or skin-tight trousers, and pointed shoes because there is acceptance of such styles among other groups. Young women wear mini-skirts, the Malay sarong and kebaya and slacks in their conformity to stail. But distended ear lobes and stone-in-gold teeth have passed because they were unaccepted by other groups who on occasion made cutting remarks about the practices.

177 771 777 basket (kelingkang). On one occasion I observed a Christian service at the farms of members of Rumah Nyala. Following the service, I noticed one man surreptitously take a chicken and return to his field where he sacrificed the chicken, beseeching Pulang Gana to give him a bountiful harvest. His rationale was that if one service didn't work for him he had better try the other.

177 787 Contact with other ethnic groups and acculturation has begun to erode the faith of many Ibans in their traditional rituals as means of ensuring good luck. Augury is rapidly disappearing in this District, for few young people are interested in learning about the birds, preferring rather to spend their evenings listening to Radio Malaysia, strumming a guitar, playing cards (daun sekerupong), or talking about the latest Government scheme and how they can get funds for their farms. Despite the syncretistic nature of Christian Iban religion, the combined influences of Christianity and science have brought about a general loss of faith in the gods of the ancestors (petara aki' ini'). In the words of one Iban farmer,

"Our Pulang Gana now is in the Agriculture Department."

[829] [369] At the same time, there has been a decrease in rituals that is almost directly proportionate to distance to the distance from the pasar; that is, the closer the community is to the Sibu pasar and subject to its influence, the less attention is given to traditional ritual activities.